1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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PREFACE

The Havasupai are a small and obscure group of Yuman-speaking Indians living in the neighborhood of the Grand Canyon in north-central Arizona. Our earliest knowledge of them dates from their discovery in 1776 by Padre Francisco Garcés. But they have remained so secluded in their inaccessible canyon home, that we know very little of them even today. There are brief descriptions resulting from the visits of Ives' party in 1858, Coues in 1881, and of James and Curtis' parties at various times. Cushing, who spent a few days with them in 1881, has described *The Nation of the Willows* at somewhat greater length. Their cultural position still remaining in doubt, I was sent by the American Museum in 1918 for a general ethnographic study. Some parts of this have already been published as *The Havasupai Indians of Cataract Cañon* (1918), *Havasupai Days* (1920), *Havasupai (Yuman) Texts* (1924), and *The Association Test as a Method of Defining Religious Concepts* (1927). With the exception of the last two, this material appears again in the present paper.

My first visit to the Havasupai in August, 1918, was on behalf of the American Museum, for whom an ethnological collection was made. The second trip (August–November, 1919) was made as William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellow of Columbia University, with the Museum's further assistance. A third trip (August-September, 1921) was aided, like the second, by the Southwest Society of New York. I am also under obligations to my wife, Erna Gunther, for some tales and incidental material collected in 1921, to Doctor Paul M. Standley and Doctor William A. Setchell for plant determinations, to Miss Edna M. Fisher and Doctor C. D. Shane for determinations of snakes and stars, respectively, to many anthropologist friends for notes, and to Doctor Herbert E. Bolton for the use of a manuscript on the Caddoan Hasinai.

Much of the old life is still open to observation. Social life, religion, and to only a lesser extent, the material culture, of these people is practically intact. Yet let me add for the timorous souls who fear that the inroads made by white culture may be underestimated, that I have used the historical present throughout in my description only as a matter of convenience. My principal informant, Sinyella, was an energetic and well-informed old man, aged 71. So much material is directly autobiographical, that it would have been possible to present this sketch as an account of his life. My interpreters, Jess Cheeknpanyega and Mark

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115 Hanna, both young men, spoke English moderately well, and the first proved himself invaluable.

The phonetic scheme is as follows:—

194 104

a	as in father	ȧ	as in but
ă	hat		
e	fate	ĕ	met
i	pique	ĭ	pin
o	note	ŏ	not
u	rule	ŭ	put
ω	law		

The remaining symbols follow the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages." By inadvertence, the printer has set the stress accent over the vowel in the manner there recommended for pitch accents. Pitch accents differentiate three pairs of words used in this paper: *dȟd*, water, *dȟd*, cottonwood tree; *kdθð'dd*, coyote, *kdθd'dd*, left hand; *θdálgd* a woman's term for her child (lit. issue), *θdúlgd*, a woman's children. K^r probably corresponds to ṭ (cerebral t), but for lack of certainty as to its exact character, the strong trill is indicated as shown. Glottalization is weak. Final vowels are habitually elided. Some words were heard variously: I have not attempted to spell them uniformly.

Some observations of a general sort, such as those on thought, the
● 121 character of the chiefs, etc., will doubtless seem quite naïve to my professional brethren. While we take these for granted, I can assure them that outsiders do not.

I have made a point of noting what traits are absent among the
128 Havasupai but which might be expected to appear. This is especially important for a tribe of distinctly intermediate cultural position.

The comparative notes which are offered are not so systematic as I
114 wish. I have attempted to include most of the material available in
127 print for at least a thousand miles around the Havasupai. Undoubtedly
128 much has been missed, especially the Mexican material. The literature is scattered and random in content. It is surprisingly incomplete, for, with the exception of the Pima and Hopi, we have nothing like complete ethnographies for the Southwestern tribes. The description of even the material culture in the only spot in the United States where it remains in anything like its pristine condition, has hardly been begun. The comparative work is also somewhat one-sided, for I have made the Havasupai traits my point of departure. In a few cases I have gone further afield
101 for the sake of completeness. But as the Havasupai are not a typical
128

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Preface

This report was first submitted to the faculty of the University of Utah as a thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology. Subsequently, Dr. Leslie A. Spier kindly read and commented upon the thesis in some detail. Where the text has been altered at his suggestion, reference is made to a personal communication from him dated December 3, 1957. It should be added, however, that I assume responsibility for the present conclusions. I thank Dr. Spier for the careful attention with which he evaluated my report. 121 114

Field research was accomplished on four trips, totaling five months spent among the Havasupai. On the first trip (July-August, 1950), major emphasis was upon the collection of census and genealogical data. During the second trip (July-August, 1951), attention was focused upon the life cycle of the woman, population problems, and shamanism. The third trip, lasting only three weeks (November-December, 1951), afforded an opportunity to observe daily routine and other activities at a different season of the year. Interviewing of two medicine men occupied most evenings. A final trip of three weeks' duration (September, 1952) provided contact with a segment of the Havasupai population living at Grand Canyon Indian Village on the south rim of the Grand Canyon proper. (Residents of Grand Canyon Indian Village are employed by the National Park Service and by private business establishments in the National Park area.) During this last trip, interviews with both men and women were focused almost exclusively upon the life cycle of the Havasupai woman. 114

In the summer of 1958, I returned to the Havasupai Indian Reservation for three months to make a study of the primitive tribal religion under a research grant from the University of Utah Research Fund. This opportunity was taken to check certain details, included in the original thesis on the Havasupai woman, with additional informants. The thesis was read and evaluated, in whole or in part, by several tribal members, including original informants. Accordingly, modifications have been made in the present publication. [122] [124]

Although the total number of informants consulted was larger, the data presented here were obtained primarily from nine individuals, three men and six women, ranging in age from 31 to 86 years. I was at all times dependent upon the good graces, interest, and convenience of informants and interpreters, all of whom were unpaid. Occasional small gifts were made to a few individuals who worked most earnestly, but these gifts were never promised nor given as an advance inducement. 115

The definitive monograph on the Havasupai is Leslie Spier's Havasupai Ethnography, published in 1928. This, together with several shorter 114

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

This study of the Havasupai woman begins by placing her in the perspective of her environment, which includes both natural habitat and tribal culture. In sketching the cultural background, new material, mostly pertaining to the recent historic period, will be added to that which has been published about the Havasupai, and differences in opinion on certain points, which are evident among previous observers of the people, will be discussed. 121

Natural Environment

The former range of the Havasupai included a section of the Coconino Plateau about 90 mi. long and 75 mi. wide, extending from the Colorado River gorge south to Bill Williams Mountain and the San Francisco Peaks, bounded on the west by Aubrey Cliffs and on the east by the benches of Coconino Plateau above the Little Colorado River (Spier 1928, 91). 131

The Havasupai now describe essentially the same former boundaries as those ascribed to them by Spier except on the east, where some of them include in their territory land east of the Little Colorado River. However, in their land claim against the United States Government, they are not asking compensation for land beyond the Little Colorado. In a personal communication, their attorney, Royal D. Marks, describes the former eastern boundary as being on a line from the San Francisco Mountains northeast and north to the junction of the Little Colorado River and the Moencopie Wash, and from there northwest along the Little Colorado to its confluence with the Colorado. [648]

Boundaries of former territory probably were defined by the Havasupai only in vague terms. On the west they often camped with the Walapai, but they seem to have been in no frequent contact with tribes on other boundaries until the latter half of the 19th century. Certainly before that there was little competition for their hunting and gathering resources except with the Walapai. [101]

Rarely does a cultural group inhabiting such a small area have an environment which varies as greatly as does that of the Havasupai. With the possibilities presented them by nature, the Havasupai long ago developed a dichotomous economy which provided improved subsistence and indeed made possible a larger population within the region. Therefore, an understanding of this rather unique physical setting, with its implications for Havasupai cultural development, is essential to this study. 133

Topography

The most striking characteristic of the area is the topography--a broad plateau bounded by a sweep of mountains to the southeast and a deep canyon

Foreword

121 AGAIN it is my pleasure to present in the name of the Arizona State Teachers College at Flagstaff a bulletin on certain Arizona Indian tribes, a bulletin designed to be of aid and interest to teachers and laymen alike. Like the preceding bulletins, it is written in non-technical language and brings together in compact form a simple statement of life in the beautiful Cataract Canyon, several thousands of feet below the land above, a Canyon unknown to the casual visitor at the Grand Canyon, and of life on the almost million acre reservation of the Hualapai.

122 The material was gathered through personal contact on the Reservations, verified by documentation, and carefully checked by experts.

127

000 The material was prepared by the Arizona Writers Project. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. Ross Santee, Director, for making the material available. Acknowledgement is likewise made to his assistants and particularly to Mrs. Frances Sanita for her very careful work in preparing the material.

Special acknowledgement is given Mr. Alfred Whiting of the Museum of Northern Arizona for his helpful criticism of the Havasupai material.

Thomas J. Torrey, President

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where they gathered and hunted the local flora and fauna until the following spring.

For some time there was indirect historical evidence that Havasupai had lived in the area since about 1500 A.D. (Schroeder 1953), but nothing definite was known of their prehistory. Archaeologically, the plateau country just south of the Grand Canyon, the winter home of the historic Havasupai, was occupied by a group called the Cohonina (Fig. 1). These people were thought to have inhabited the area between about 700 A.D. and 1100 A.D. (Colton 1939, pp. 26-29). But a blank spot existed in our knowledge of their life between 1100 A.D. and 1500 A.D. It was not known what had happened to the Cohonina after 1100 A.D., nor whence came the Havasupai, or whether there was a relationship between the two.

In the summer of 1953 I began an archaeological investigation of the canyon home of the Havasupai, with the feeling that the key to the problems in the area lay in this hitherto untouched region. This field work, sponsored by the Peabody Museum of Yale University, whose research program is supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, formed the basis for a Ph. D. dissertation written for the Department of Anthropology at Yale University (Schwartz 1955a).

The results of the study indicated a cultural continuum from the early Cohonina through the historic Havasupai. A summary of the conclusions is presented in the following pages. In order to separate the material into understandable units, it has been divided into periods. Each of these periods is described, as are the processes of culture change operating on it. It is with the desire of presenting something of the dynamics of Havasupai culture history that these processes are emphasized.

Period I — Exploration

Little is known of the early Cohonina people or their culture. They probably came to the plateau region south of the Grand Canyon about 600 A.D., presumably from the west. The first hundred years were a period of exploration, when the water sources were being located, favorable agricultural areas were being sought, and a few pioneering families were learning the all-important lessons of survival.

Colton (1945) has suggested that there was a population pressure along the lower Colorado River which might have forced the Cohonina and others away from the river banks and into the "hinterland." If this was so, then some of the people who were pushed out probably came into the future Cohonina homeland in small groups. This may be inferred to some extent from the small population during this period and from indications that the whole plateau had not yet been occupied.

Too little is known of the material culture of this period to characterize it, but already there were strong trade contacts with the Kayenta people to the east (Fig. 1). This is especially manifest in the ceramics. Although little comparative material is available, it might be expected

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PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE CULTURAL POSITION OF THE HAVASUPAI

BY LESLIE SPIER

I

THE observation has often been made that culture areas are geographically and culturally continuous. As Wissler remarks in his study of the *Material Cultures of the North American Indians* (p. 468),[1] there commonly are no sharp breaks in cultural distribution. Transitions are gradual from one culture center to another of different type, the intervening groups presenting in sequence the whole range of traits combined variously. This is so much a commonplace that the field ethnologist acts on it, interpolating between known cultures to forecast what he might expect in a tribe lying between them.

In 1918–21 I visited the Havasupai Indians of northern Arizona for the American Museum of Natural History and the Southwest Society of New York. A description of their culture has recently been published, in which I have included a series of distribution studies, taking my departure from the traits of Havasupai life.[2]

The Havasupai are a small and little-known tribe living in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. They are western neighbors, at some remove, of the Hopi and Zuñi, and as such it was expected that they would share the Pueblo culture of these peoples to considerable degree. This is not the case; the cultural step-down is surprising. Pueblo elements are only scantily repre-

[1] AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, n.s., 16: 447–505, 1914.
[2] Havasupai Ethnography. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 29, pt. 3, 1928.

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sented in their life, which on the whole is like that of the semi-nomadic, rude tribes of the Great Basin of Nevada and Utah. This is true not only of the Havasupai but also of the remaining groups of the western Arizonan plateau, the linguistically related Walapai and Yavapai.

In order to bring out the cultural position of the Havasupai I have drawn up a table (table 1) of the elements characterizing the several sub-areas of this region. I have leaned heavily on Kroeber's characterizations in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*,[3] and earlier papers. I have also built on the basis of Wissler's summaries of the material cultures, realizing however that the description of the Plateau area[4] hardly applies to its southern or Basin half. There is a very unequal weighting of the items of the table, the rich ritualism of the Pueblo, e.g., being dismissed with a few catch-words that level it to the order of the dances of the Basin tribes. And on the contrary I have enlarged on some minutiae because they offered an opportunity to show comparisons with the Havasupai. Like any tabular statement it suffers from abridgment but shows the situation at a glance. It must be understood that the Havasupai, being geographically one of the Western Rancheria peoples, have been drawn on in framing the culture of that group.[5] Those items that Havasupai traits most closely resemble are marked by an asterisk.

A simple count of the traits in which the Havasupai resemble these groups shows half again as many correspondences with the Western Rancheria and Basin peoples as with the others. No importance can be attached to a count of this sort but the result does coincide with my judgment derived by less mechanical procedure. I will present this in the following summary.

Material culture and economic life place the Havasupai clearly with the Basin group. To be sure they are primarily agricultural-

[3] Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925.

[4] Op. cit., 451.

[5] The composition of this Western Rancheria group may not be obvious. It includes the tribes lying between the western Pueblos and the Colorado river i.e., Navaho, Western Apache, Pima, Papago, Tonto, Havasupai, Yavapai, Walapai, and others.

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attitudes, but in this case there seems to be environmental determination. The home of the Havasupai is the one rich oasis in all western Arizona. If we picture them as originally like the Walapai with but a moderate interest in cultivation, once they were settled in Cataract canyon the extension of agriculture was well-nigh thrust upon them.

II

It appears to me that there are two primary trains of thought flowing from the consideration of a tribe's cultural position, one culture-historical, the other relating to the conditions of culture growth. What I mean by the latter will, I trust, become clearer as I proceed.

One inquiry is as valuable as the other: I should not be inclined to eschew culture history reconstructions on principle as A. R. Radcliffe-Brown seems to do. But for an understanding of the nature of culture and the processes by which its forms come into being, it seems unnecessary to indulge in historical reconstructions of grand scope. Some of the recent attempts in this direction, noticeably those dealing with American cultures, impress a moderately conservative individual as being highly tenuous or even downright careless and frivolous. Furthermore, this type of reconstruction is unnecessary.

A specific example, which is by no means extreme, is Kroeber's placing of girls' adolescence rites in California in an ancient cultural substratum.[6] His argument rests on the universality of the rites in that area despite its cleavage into several distinct culture provinces. Other traits having a much narrower distribution, such as the boys' initiations in the south and the Kuksu cult in central California, are in his opinion much more recent institutions. One might reaffirm Kroeber's opinion concerning girls' rites by pointing out that they are universal not only in California but throughout the Pacific coast from Alaska to the Southwest, whereas they are lacking to the east. We may at least assent that

[6] The History of Native Culture in California. Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., 20: 123-142, 1923.

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the practice has diffused throughout this wide continuous area without stating anything whatever as to its antiquity. We have then answered the historical question how the several Pacific tribes came by their girls' rites. As a matter of fact, the problem is not so simple as Kroeber depicts it, for there are at least four types of girls' rites in the Pacific area, as I will demonstrate in another place. What I am insisting is that we can answer a purely historical question without defining the precise antiquity of the custom.

It is perhaps inevitable that many of us will want to go further in delineating the general history of a culture. This may take the form of suggesting tentatively the basic culture from which it has specialized. But it seems to me unjustifiable in the present state of our knowledge to extend such interpretations beyond reasonably restricted limits.

If I may be permitted to indulge in such interpretation, I would suggest that Havasupai culture was once part of an undifferentiated Basin culture which extended southward across western Arizona to include as well Walapai, Yavapai, and Tonto. This proposition is based on the observation that Havasupai life is even now primarily of Basin type; Walapai, and perhaps Yavapai and Tonto, even more so. These four groups are linguistically close, Walapai and Havasupai practically identical, and all are set apart as peripheral in the distribution of the Yuman stock on its eastern margin. Further, the Havasupai and Walapai are in intimate cultural relations and have intermarried more than with others. Both groups look on the Havasupai somewhat as a division of the Walapai, despite a Havasupai tale purporting to describe their severance from the Yavapai. The most plausible explanation is, then, that the Havasupai are a group of Walapai who became distinct and somewhat specialized. Their specialization in agriculture I ascribe to their happy environment; their slight specialization in ritual to Navaho or perhaps Hopi contacts since the day of their separation.

Such a suggestion contains a minimum of hypothesis. But what does such culture history tell of the processes by which their culture took form? For this it seems better to turn to inquiries of another sort.

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423 planted stand in the fields and not cut are destroyed. These things are so clearly
[423 his that it seems disgraceful that anyone else should consider using them after
768 he is dead. The land, however, is not so closely associated with the man who
uses it. He can plant on it whatever he chooses, but has no right to dispose of it
[425] as he sees fit without consulting his relatives, and additionally, the opinion of the
whole closely integrated community is an important factor influencing any deci-
sion he may wish to make.

177 Tribal government is vested in the three native chiefs who are now permanent
648 members of the council created by the Indian Office, but the chiefs and the
428 council exercise little authority, although they are encouraged to do so. Prob-
621 lems of inheritance and land rights, if not solved by the family, are usually
argued out and settled by general public opinion, or in extreme cases of non-
agreement are carried to the Government Agent as a last resort. For several
years the Indian Office has encouraged the Havasupai to make legal statements
and wills which would settle the disputes so often attending redistribution of
land after a death. These attempts were, of course, based on the assumption
that the Havasupai men owned their land as we own ours. That this assumption
was not accurate,[5] however, is attested by the fact that in most of the few cases
on record, the wills were disputed, and the land was finally redistributed accord-
ing to the usual complex pattern which pays little or no attention to any per-
verse notions of the previous occupant.

423 When Prince Wodo was a feeble old man, he wanted to turn his land over
578 to Lemuel Paya and Henry Hanna, who had been caring for him. Henry was a
cousin, and Lemuel was a more distant relative by marriage. Wodo's daughter
Lily, and his niece Katie, who had not taken any responsibility for his care, were
left out. They started a fuss which became quite bitter. It is said that the old
man was so upset that he locked himself in his house, set fire to it, and burned
to death. Katie and Lily divided the land. The inheritance pattern which justi-
fied this will be discussed below; suffice it at present to note that even in this
dramatic situation, Prince Wodo had no voice in the disposition of the land
which he had worked all his life.

121 It should be apparent from the above discussion that familial rights outrank
125 individual rights. As mentioned before, however, the fact of disputes and
428

Complex of the Pueblos (in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L. Kroeber*, pp. 229-232, Berkeley, 1936).

5 This is not said as stricture, and furthermore it does not apply to Mr Noble O. Guthrie, the present sub-agent in charge at Supai. He has made a sincere effort to understand the ways of the Indians, and has achieved considerable success. I am extremely indebted to him for his interest and cooperation.

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complexities indicates that factors other than simple familial inheritance rules must also be operative. In order to extract some sense from the obvious intricacies of inheritance, it was necessary to prepare a community genealogy, and to draft a detailed map showing the location and the proprietorship of each little plot of land; then the history of each of these individual pieces of land was detailed back as far as it was practical. From a study of the mass of this sort of data, it is possible to isolate three main considerations which tend to govern the familial and community decisions in land reallocation.

First, and most obvious, is closeness of relationship. It must be noted in this regard that "closeness" is perhaps better understood here to involve personal closeness and propinquity rather than actual blood relationship, though the two usually tend to be coincident. Thus a relative who lives and works in close harmony with his other relatives is considered nearer than one who lives away.[6] A second factor involves the personal qualities of the heirs, for a high premium is placed on industry and coöperation. A third factor, and an important one, is the relative needs of the persons being considered. Either or both of the second and third considerations often outweigh closeness of relationship.

I shall illustrate these three points with examples and supplementary discussion. When Gattagama died, Crook, his only heir, received all the land. This is a simple case of patrilineal inheritance, father to son. This is the only example of such simple inheritance, however, for this father and only son relationship is unusual.

The second factor, that allocation of land depends to some extent on the personal qualifications of the individual, is often very important. The three men who are poorest in land holdings, Joe Jones, Pete Mulgullo, and Spoonhead, can be cited to illustrate this point. Joe Jones is one of three brothers, but he inherited very little compared to the other two, because it is said, "He was lazy and wouldn't work." Pete Mulgullo never was interested in farming and, when he was younger, preferred to leave the canyon periodically to work for white men instead of helping care for the familial lands. Spoonhead is lazy and also has been regarded as not quite right in the head.

The third factor, need, is frequently decisive in determining which of several claimants to a plot of land will get it, or if several plots are involved, who will get the most. This concern over need operates at all times and it is not unusual that for this reason alone a distant relative of a dead man might get more land

6 See Mischa Titiev, *The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred* (American Anthropologist, vol. 45, pp. 511-530, 1943).

Colonel Price, of the sixth cavalry, accompanied by Lieutenant Carl F. Palfrey, Corps of Engineers, and Major Elliot Coues, surgeon and naturalist, preceded me by only six or seven days. The commanding officer made a brief report to the Department; Lieutenant Palfrey, unable to surmount the difficulties of surveying, sent an admirable map of the cañon, with some suggestions, to the Indian Office; and Dr. Coues furnished a brief description of his visit and of the people to various Eastern papers. These accounts, based upon an actual visit of only a few hours, are short and imperfect, but they are all that have thus far ever been given to the world concerning the home of the Nation of the Willows.

Having heard, during the winter of 1880, from the Zuñis — of which nation I am a member — of a people so remarkable, whom they regarded as their younger brothers, it was with a mingled desire for adventure, priority of description, and to supplement my Zuñi investigations that I undertook, after invitation from that distant country-folk, the long journey I have recorded; and, with the freedom of intercourse which resulted from my position with the Zuñis and Moquis, as well as the advantages of having, as interpreter, Pu-la-ká-kai, — whose language I spoke readily, — I was able to learn many things which would otherwise have remained, perhaps, unknown, and which I shall attempt quite fully, though concisely, to record.

In perfection of muscular physique, the Ha-va-su-paí men approach the Caucasian race more nearly than the majority of North American Indians. They are, however, below the average stature, rather broad shouldered and full chested, with long and strong arms, and small hands hardened and short-nailed from work. Their backs are broad and straight, and waists small, corpulency being unknown or very rare with the sex. Their hams, thighs, and legs are